

**Mental health  
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# DC Gazette

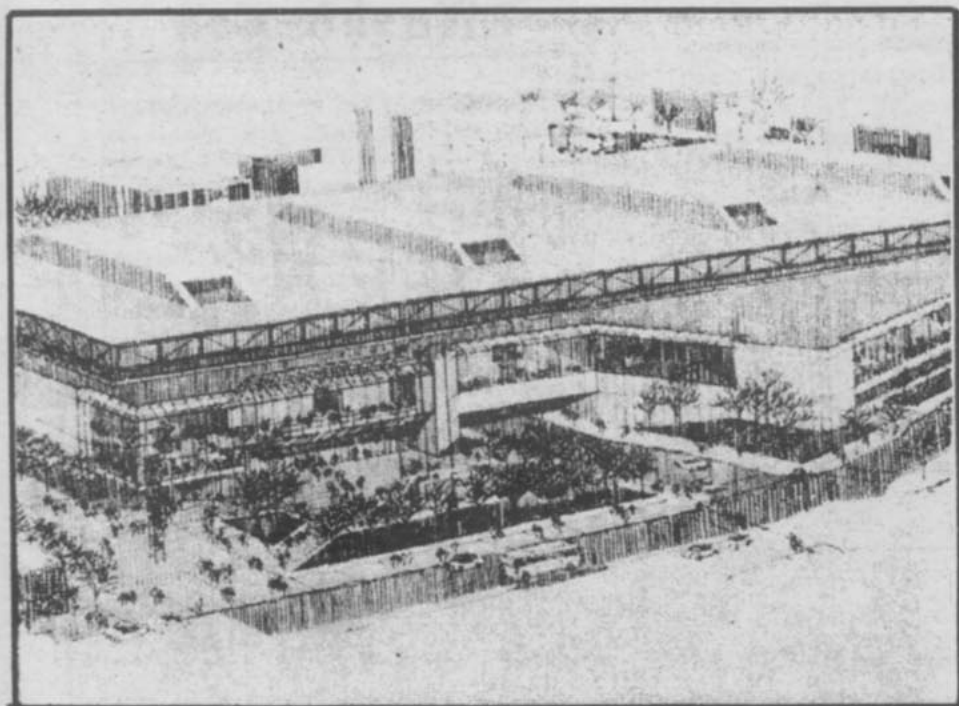
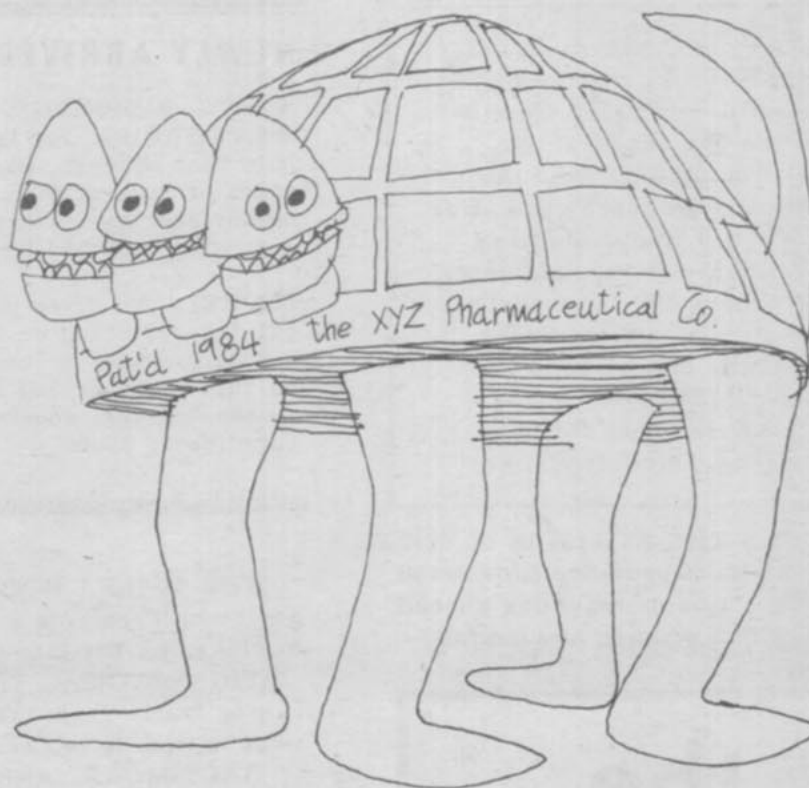
VOL VIII NR 2

FEBRUARY 1977

BOOK  
CATALOG  
P.2

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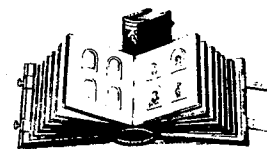
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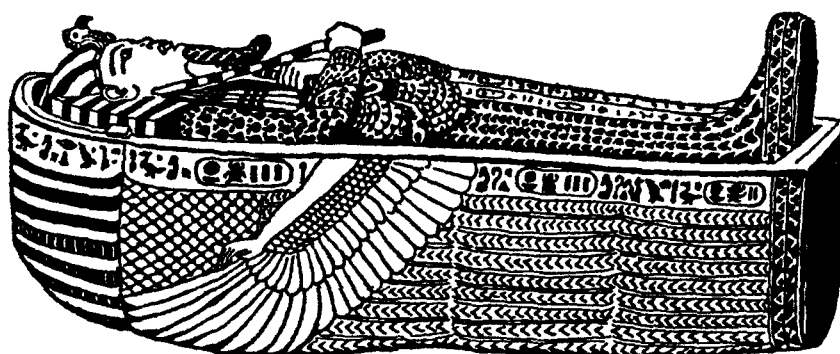
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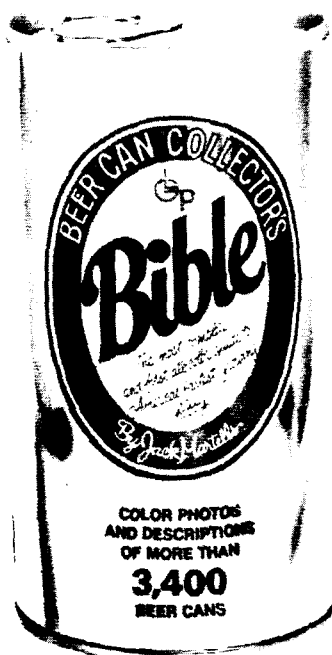
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Power of the People/Peace Press

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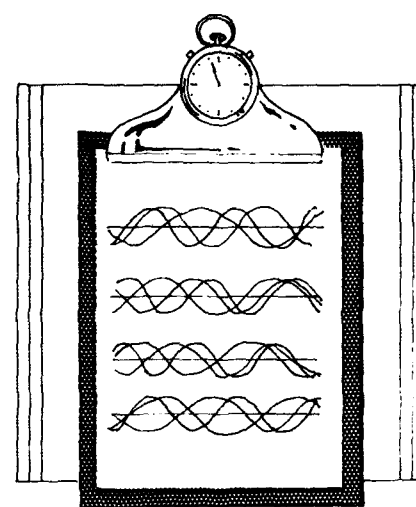
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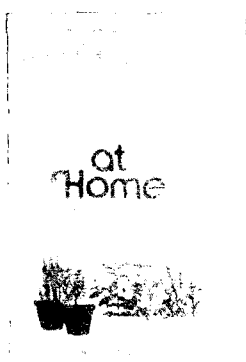


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# city comment

## THE GREATER WASHINGTON ASTRODUD

### 72 questions to answer before you build a convention center

THE economic feasibility study for the convention center is being done by Gladstone Associates. This firm is corporately intertwined with a major developer, Quadrangle Properties, Inc. Why did the city use such a consultant for a supposedly impartial study of the convention center? What properties are owned by Quadrangle? What other clients does Gladstone Associates have that might represent a conflict of interest? Why has the city declined to consider earlier conflict of interest charges concerning Gladstone's preparation of an economic study on the West End?

WILL the city prepare and release a map showing the land ownership within a mile radius of the proposed site of the convention center? If not, why not?

WHAT studies have been made of the feasibility of renovating and expanding the DC Armory as an alternative to present plans for the convention center? How does the city justify spending \$20 million on land costs when free land and a building with 50% of proposed capacity are available?

WHAT will be the economic effect on existing convention and show facilities (such as the Armory, the Washington Hilton and the Shoreham) of the construction of a convention center? We know that the opening of Capital Centre killed the Washington Coliseum. What will the convention center kill? What will be the loss in revenues at each of these existing sites? Why did Gladstone and the earlier study by Booze Allen ignore this factor in computing benefits of a convention center? What will be the disposition of the DC Armory if it can no longer survive?

GLADSTONE Associates has estimated the cost of a new convention center based in part upon estimates made at the time of the earlier push for construction. These earlier estimates, by the time they were presented to the city council, did not represent completed construction of the center. Rising costs and refined calculations resulted in the city approving a building that had 22 incompleting meeting rooms, lacked a planned second kitchen, workshops, stage and other accessories. Is the present estimate for a completed center or for a similarly unfinished job?

BOOZE ALLEN, in its 1971 report on a convention center estimated the tax benefits of the center at \$5 million a year. Gladstone estimates the direct tax benefits to be \$8.5 to \$10 million a year. Why the difference? Booze Allen estimated a substantial profit on operations of the center, Gladstone expects the center to operate "at break-even or better." Why the difference? Why has the balance in supposed benefits from the center shifted so markedly from actual operating profits to vague and unprovable tax revenue benefits? Why have no operating figures been computed?

WHY does Gladstone Associates predict a potential of 44% more convention delegates in DC as a result of this convention center when its own chart shows that in six other cities with new centers, the increase in the three years after opening has averaged only 23%? Why does Gladstone predict an increase of 250,000 to 300,000 new delegates when the six-city average is only 106,500?

WHY has the city kicked back the Gladstone report twice for revisions? Is it because it has as many questions as we do? Is it because so much of the statistical data is outdated or incomplete? (Note: these questions are all based on the first revision as the final version was not released at presstime.)

WHAT is the deficit of other convention centers, including debt service? The Gladstone report shows an 11-city average profit for convention centers of only \$296,000 annually before debt service. The one with the largest deficit is Cobo Hall in Detroit, the center that produced the greatest percentage increase in delegates according to Gladstone. What does this mean? By Gladstone's own figures, the convention center here would have to produce \$8 million a year in tax benefits in order to pay both operating costs and debt service. If the increase in delegates were only as great as

the average indicated by Gladstone, direct tax benefits would amount to only about \$3.6 million a year leaving over \$4 million to be covered some other way. How would this money be raised? Why should DC taxpayers subsidize a center that even by the optimistic, unprovable and fuzzy projects of the city can't produce enough tax benefits to pay for itself? Why does Gladstone expect several times greater annual tax benefits from this center than the Bicentennial hoopla produced?

WHAT are the public service costs (fire protection, traffic, sanitation etc.) associated with the construction of a convention center? Why did neither Gladstone nor Booze Allen take these into account? How can the city make claim concerning tax benefits without telling the public what the tax drain will be as well?

ASSUMING that the city will settle on a downtown location for the center such as Mt. Vernon Square (the site had not been designated as of presstime), how can the city justify this on environmental grounds? The environmental impact statement prepared at the time of the last convention center campaign showed that the Mt. Vernon Square site was by far the most polluted site of the alternatives considered. The statement went on to say that "the highest pollution levels recorded by mobile equipment occur in Downtown areas characterized by extensive stop and go traffic and subject to extended idling times." This describes pretty well what happens around a convention center.

SINCE there are virtually no provisions for parking at the site, where does the city plan to park the cars that will come to the center? The 1973 environmental impact statement estimates that 40% of all trips to public shows at the convention center will be by car, with traffic increases of 20%-37% on nearby streets. Booze Allen suggested 5000 parking spaces. What will be the annual profits accruing to the parking lobby from construction of the center?

WHY does the city apparently plan to recycle the unimaginative warehouse-like design proposed for the Eisenhower Center? Has it learned nothing in the past four years?

WHAT was the true nature of the \$600,000 loan to the city made by a consortium of local banks to further planning of the convention center the last time around? The loan, at below prevailing rates, has never been paid back. Did the banks expect this? Did their shareholders expect this? Was the loan in fact a political contribution to encourage construction of the center? Why hasn't the Board of Elections and Ethics looked into this?

WILL the Board of Elections and Ethics hold hearings on the issue of whether Walter Washington and Sterling Tucker should be disqualified from acting on this matter in view of the extraordinary amount of campaign contributions each received from those with a direct financial interest in the center? If not, why not?

WHAT will be the true cost of the center? The Gladstone report suggests a figure of between \$70-\$90 million, or \$240 million including interest on the debt. But, as mentioned above, this is based on part on an upgrading of estimates of an unfinished Ike Center. Further, the proposed financial plan for the center includes a "front-end capital contribution" of \$15 million to help pay debt service during the first five years of operations. Where will this \$15 million come from? If it is borrowed it will add another million or so to the debt service. Where will the money come from to pay for this additional debt service?

THE Gladstone report suggests using 7% of the principal to pay off the debt in early years. This is like borrowing \$1000 from someone and then using \$700 of the money to pay off the interest on the loan. Is this a sound practice? If nothing else, it raises the effective interest rate on the loan.

(Please turn to page 8)





## CONVENTION CENTER CONT'D

THE Gladstone report argues that we should support the center on the grounds that tax increment increases will be enough to cover its cost. However, the report also states that DC could not sell revenue bonds backed by tax increment financing because "incremental tax gain likely too speculative to sustain satisfaction bond issue" and "revenue potential probably insufficient." The report further states: "The salability of bonds backed solely by tax increment pledges would hinge on the bond purchaser's confidence that the civic center would spin off enough taxable development to pay the debt service on the bonds. It is our judgment that the development of the civic center, for all of its acknowledged benefits to the City, is not likely to engender sufficient confidence in the minds of bond buyers that new tax revenues will be achieved adequate to support a significant bond issue, without full-faith-and-credit backing by the District of Columbia." Why does Gladstone expect the ordinary citizen to believe something that it admits bond buyers would not believe?

WHY is the city planning to charge ahead on this project when the Gladstone report admits it does not deal with issues of "location, program, content or design; operation and management; or access, parking, truck logistics or similar items?" Do these items get taken care of before or after the center is approved?

THE first finding of the Gladstone report is that "it is highly probable that, after an initial start-up period, a convention-oriented civic center in Washington DC would increase tax revenues more than sufficient to offset its capital cost, provided that: it is appropriately designed and located; it is well managed; it has effective cost control; and it is properly financed." Name one DC-sponsored project that meets all these criteria.

THE Booze Allen study in 1971 stated that there were 18,000 hotel rooms in the city. The Gladstone report (1976) says there are now 15,000. What happened to the others? Was it because of lack of a convention center or because of city policies that favored office development over tourism? Now that new hotels are beginning to be built in the city, why are places so far away from a convention center like Georgetown and the West End favored locations? Does the city intend to claim that any new hotel built following the construction of a convention center was the result of the center? If so, how do you explain the ones planned now at other locations? You can not justify crediting a convention center with all new hotel space in the city when other factors are at work, any more than you can credit all the rise in new delegates to a new center.

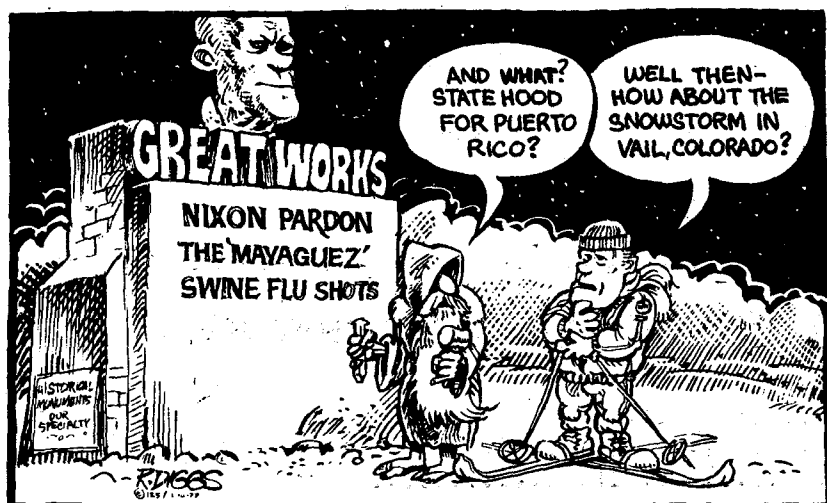
IF the city needs hotels, why is the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan indifferent to this need?

THE Gladstone report states that the November 1974 estimates for the center's bricks and mortar (75-76 dollars) was \$69.10 a square foot. Its own current estimate is only \$70 a square foot. Has inflation ignored the brick and mortar business?

THERE has been talk of a special short-term tax on hotel rooms to help pay for the convention center? Is special purpose taxing legal? Given the special interest nature of this proposal, is it ethical? How could the money be otherwise used? What happens after three years when the tax is eliminated and the convention center is still in the hole?

WHAT is the cost in terms of jobs lost and buildings and businesses destroyed at the site? Why are these figures considered neither by Gladstone nor Booze Allen?

DRAW a line from the end of the planned New York Avenue



Industrial Freeway and the end of William Coleman's newly approved I-66. Where does it go? Past the favored site of a convention center by downtown interests: Mt. Vernon Square. Is the convention center really a Trojan horse designed to force construction of a crosstown freeway?

WHY did the city council pass a resolution declaring that a convention center "would be a prime stimulus to development of the downtown area" and calling it a "necessary facility for the conduct of and enjoyment of community affairs" before it had even seen the Gladstone report or held any hearings? Has the council already decided to go ahead with this project regardless of the facts? If so, why?

WHY was a private developer who wanted to put up a convention center here sent packing back to New York without so much as a public airing of his proposal or investigation into it?

CONGRESSMAN William Natcher has said he might favor a convention center if it were financed out of the city's capital budget. In recent years the city's capital programs have been drastically cut back to save money. School, recreation projects and other proposed facilities have been cancelled or delayed because of the shortage of funds. Now the city is proposing a capital item almost equal to next year's total capital budget. In view of the mayor's previous statements about cutting back on capital projects, how can this be justified? How does he explain increasing city interest payments by about 10% to pay for the center? What additional projects will have to be cancelled or delayed to provide funds for the convention center?

WHAT studies have been done of tax revenues achieved in other cities by convention centers? In 1972 Downtown Progress asked a number of city's to respond to this question and came up with some sour answers:

- Do convention centers create new jobs and increase retail sales? Three cities said yes, seven said "some," "indefinite," "not available" or left the question unanswered.
- Do conventions add property tax revenues. One city said "Even." Nine left the question unanswered or said "indefinite" or "not available."

Similar responses came to questions about other taxes.

IN 1973, Howard Sloane, managing director of the New York Coliseum, made this comment in opposition to a new convention center in NYC: "A study of industrywide trends of trade and public shows throughout the United States since 1967 revealed that the older, established convention and trade show cities were losing ground to the newer convention and exhibition facilities which have been built in the West, South and Midwest. While some of the more established trade shows have growth, the industry has been characterized by the growth of smaller, regional type public and trade shows. The result is that the older urban centers have shown a declining share in the number of shows and a dramatic drop in share of attendance nationally. . . Those traditional major urban centers which have in recent years built new facilities or expanded existing facilities, have been unable to counter the previously described trends towards smaller facilities in new areas." What is the current situation regarding these trends? Why did Gladstone not study them?

\* \* \* \* \*

IF you can get answers to all these questions to your satisfaction, you may want to join the promoters of the convention center. In the four years that we've been studying convention centers and the one proposed for DC, however, we've found few adequate answers to such questions. The political-economic complex just wants to get the damn thing built. The facts can come later, along with the bills. The truth of the matter was well stated by Barry Bloom, one of the leaders in the fight against a convention center in San Francisco:

"The construction and financing of a convention and/or sports complex is a financial windfall to a few specialists: the builders, architects, insurance companies, law firms, brokerage houses that are bond advisers, landowners in or near the project site, and the bondholders themselves. The resident-taxpayers in the city where these projects are built get screwed. They are promised vast economic blessings; they wind up paying high taxes to support a real estate empire that will never pay for itself."

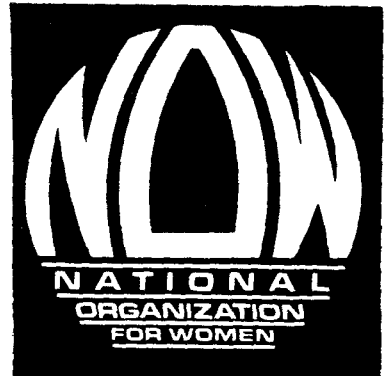
(One developer who asked not to be named said he wasn't going to wait for the council to act on the civic center. Discounting the effect downtown civic centers have on their environs — "You only have to look around at other cities to see that civic centers are overrated as a stimulus to development" — he said he was close to completing a deal for a new building.

He wouldn't say where the building would be but he wanted it there.

— Washington Star



# WANTED: PEOPLE WILLING TO KICK ASS!



THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN WANTS YOU--to help kick ass and raise hell about discrimination! There's an ugly rumor going around that the Women's Movement has gone "soft" or, worse yet, has died. Unfortunately for the sexists, we're still alive and kicking.

WHAT DO 'THOSE PEOPLE' WANT ANYHOW!?!

We'll tell you what we want. We want an end to the discrimination--in employment, in income, in education and training, and all the other good

things in life--that keep women down. And we intend to win, EVEN IF WE HAVE TO KICK ASS TO DO IT!

You may have seen the headlines in the Washington Post when we took on the D. C. Government:

THE WASHINGTON POST  
Friday, May 30, 1975 D 7

## NOW Alleges Sex Bias by District In Use of Federal Training Funds

By Claudia Levy  
Washington Post Staff Writer  
The Capitol Hill chapter of the National Organization for Women has asked the Labor Department to hold hearings on alleged sex dis-

some \$15 million in training money this year, the city had failed to:  
• Provide for the opening of higher-paying, non-traditional jobs for women or for the upgrading of skills in

The petition asks the Labor Department's assistant regional manpower director to order hearings into allocations of money under Title 1. the training provision of the Comprehensive Employ-

And, when we're not going after the "Big Guys," we're running information and training sessions in the Capitol Hill community on:

- o how the legislative process works
- o women and the law
- o the economic implications of discrimination
- o women and religion
- o political activism and community organizing

We've also lobbied to get new human rights legislation (Title 34) passed in the District of Columbia that is so far reaching in scope that it has become a model for numerous cities across the country. We've presented testimony before D. C. City Council against the use of polygraph (lie detector) tests in pre-employment interviews, and on the issue of sexual harassment of women at their place of work.

WHATEVER CONCERNS YOU PROBABLY CONCERNS US, TOO

And right now, what we're all concerned about is the new Administration. What has Jimmy (Carter) done for us lately? What does he have up his sleeve for the future? What are the implications of his recent appointments? For a thorough discussion of these and other questions, come to the next General Meeting of: THE CAPITOL HILL CHAPTER OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

2:00 P.M., Sunday, March 6, 1977  
Capitol Hill Hospital Conference Room  
708 Massachusetts Avenue, N. E.

CAPITOL HILL N.O.W. PHONE NUMBERS: 543-8525 or 525-8045

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# Putting a patent on life

JEREMY RIFKIN

RECOMBINANT DNA research — the controversial technique of creating new forms of life — is quietly spreading from academia, where it has been vocally debated and at least partially regulated, into the research and development laboratories of American business.

There the research is being conducted in an atmosphere of almost air-tight secrecy, which, according to Medical World News, is "reminiscent of the atmosphere surrounding biological-warfare research a few years ago."

The technique involves fastening together DNA segments (the basic material determining the hereditary characteristics of life) from different organisms. Critics contend that such experimentation poses immense health and safety problems, deep moral and ethical questions, and is being conducted almost entirely free of government supervision.

"As of now, there is no federal agency that is looking at research being done by private industry in recombinant DNA," says Dr. Bernard Talbot of the National Institutes of Health, the agency charged with overseeing the federal government's new Interagency Committee on recombinant DNA. "We have no registry (of companies involved in this field)."

But according to many high-level government, scientific and industry sources, seven major U.S. pharmaceutical companies are now or will soon be conducting recombinant DNA research: Miles Laboratories; Eli Lilly & Co.; Hoffman-LaRoche; the Upjohn Co.; Merck, Sharpe & Dohme Research Laboratories; Pfizer Inc. and Abbott Laboratories.

They are expected to apply for patents on the new forms of life they develop.

Nine other corporations involved in drugs, chemicals and agricultural products are investigating potential applications of recombinant DNA: Cetus Corp.; CIBA-Geigy Corp.; Dupont; Dow; W.R. Grace & Co.; Monsanto; French Laboratories; Wyeth Laboratories and Searle Laboratories.

Spokesmen for the seven pharmaceutical companies, while not outrightly denying their involvement in recombinant DNA research, are reluctant to acknowledge it.

Tom Craig, public relations representative for Abbott Laboratories, said his firm has no intention of informing the general public about Abbott's activities in the field, "because it's often difficult to obtain an understanding of what is being done. It creates more alarm than is justified."

Officials of most of the six other companies refused comment.

Under existing NIH guidelines for university DNA research, scientists must disclose all their plans in advance. (Two universities, Stanford and the University of California, have applied for patents on their DNA recombination processes.)

But there are no such guidelines for private industry, and industry leaders say they would find them unacceptable. "If you disclose your research plans, you lose your right to patent," explains Dr. Jerome Birnbaum, director of Merck, Sharpe & Dohme Laboratories.

A survey of public officials in four cities where private recombinant DNA experimentation is now being conducted — Rochester, Kalamazoo, South Bend and Nutley, NJ — revealed that none were aware of such research.

Kalamazoo mayor Francis Hamilton pointed out, for example, that while the Upjohn Laboratory was "within three blocks of where I'm sitting," he had not been informed by the company of its work on recombinant DNA.

While most scientists agree that recombinant DNA is one of the most important scientific breakthroughs in modern history, they vociferously disagree as to whether the potential benefits of even the most restricted experimentation outweigh the grave potential dangers to human life and the environment.

Paul Berg, a prominent recombinant DNA researcher at the Stanford University School of Medicine, believes such experimentation could result in creating major new food crops that can obtain nitrogen from the atmosphere rather than from fertilizer. Or it could lead to cheap and efficient production of vitamins, antibiotics and hormones and a new form of medicine — gene therapy — to treat crippling genetic diseases.

On the other hand, scientists like Liebe Cavalieri of the

Jeremy Rifkin is director of the People's Business Commission.

Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research are deeply concerned that a new "Andromeda" type virus for which there is no known immunization might accidentally be developed and spread a deadly epidemic across the planet — or that a new, highly resistant plant might be developed that could wipe out all other vegetation and animal life in its path.

They argue for a complete moratorium on recombinant DNA research until its long-range implications can be dealt with. (Microbiologists in more than 180 laboratories across the country are currently conducting DNA research under \$20 million in government grants.)

Such research "involves many unknown factors beyond the control of the scientist," Cavalieri contends. "The probability of creating a dangerous genetic agent in the process is real, and there is no way to test for the danger."

"The invention and introduction of new self-reproducing life forms may well be irreversible," warns Dr. Robert Sinsheimer, chairman of the Biology Division of the California Institute of Technology.

Yet virtually any amateur biologist can today obtain the enzymes necessary to experiment with new life forms. Miles Laboratory, which markets the enzymes, admits that most of its enzymes sales are done through the mail. It says there are no guarantees of what the customer will do once that person receives the biological materials.

While the NIH has drawn up guidelines for government-funded recombinant DNA research, it has no power to enforce them. The Center for Disease Control, the Food & Drug Administration, the Patent Office and the Environmental Protection Agency have piecemeal regulatory powers, but no government agency has overall authority over DNA experimentation. And the agencies have no direct access to the commercial laboratories' research programs as they do to government-funded university research.

When Dr. Robert Elder of the FDA was asked if his agency would be informed if, for example, test animals in a commercial lab began dying mysteriously from unknown diseases after being injected with a new recombinant DNA-type drug, he said, "there would be no requirement that (the company) inform us." And, he added, he knew of no other agencies that would be privy to such information.

The guidelines drawn up by the NIH call for laboratory air to be kept under low pressure and researchers to take showers. Certain experiments are required to be done with weakened strains of bacteria that theoretically could not survive outside the laboratory.

Laboratories are not required, however, to be in remote areas. The NIH's own maximum security DNA research facility, for instance, is a mobile trailer parked off a side street outside the agency's office in the Washington suburb of Bethesda. It is protected only by a seven-foot cyclone fence.

Sinsheimer of Cal Tech believes that the government guidelines are insufficient. "I cannot believe that under these proposed guidelines the organisms can be contained," he recently wrote the NIH, referring to new strains of virus that could be produced during experimentation. The consequences, he says, "are highly predictable and likely highly dangerous."

Now, the federal government's Interagency Committee — set up last fall to "review federal policy on the conduct of research involving the creation of new forms of life" — is preparing new recommendations for safety, regulatory and patent procedures on recombinant DNA research.

Sources inside the committee suggest it is more likely to call for strictly voluntary controls and industry self-policing than tough new government-enforced regulations. And there are no indications the committee plans to even raise the issue of whether private companies should be able to create and market new forms of life.

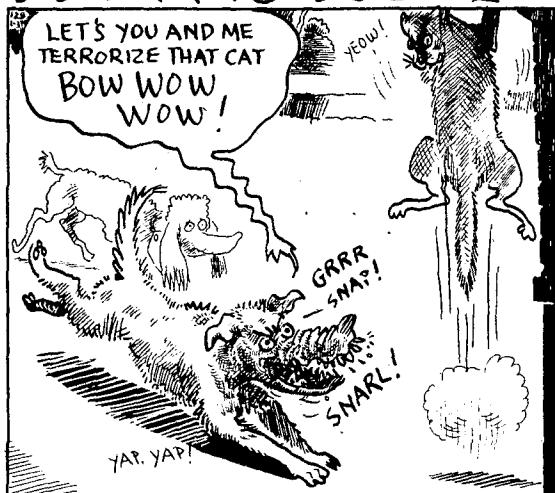
(Copyright Pacific News Service)

RESEARCHERS at Michigan State University are attempting to perfect an ice cream cone that won't drip on your shirt or make you fat.

The Food Science and Human Nutrition Department at MSU is experimenting with whey cheese in efforts to produce a sweet, ice cream-like substitute that won't melt and turn to liquid. They report that one of their products, called "ice cheese," already comes in 10 flavors, including chocolate.

(ZNS)

## DORMAN'S DOGGIE



by Foolbert Sturgeon





# Profits in mental health

SUSAN STERN

*Susan Stern is a San Francisco-based investigative reporter who has just completed a six month study of mental health practices under a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

With mounting scandals over state mental health institutions in California, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, patient abuses in private psychiatric hospitals--tied directly to the profit demands of this now booming business--are escaping public scrutiny, critics charge.

The private mental health business, dominated by diversified health care corporations and 14 national hospital chains, has grown in the past ten years into a half-billion dollar-a-year enterprise.

But despite the financial success of these smaller, better-staffed private institutions, many charging as much as \$100 a day, mental health experts say that patient abuse remains a serious problem, often beyond the control of state supervision.

Conversations with mental health workers, former patients and mental health attorneys reveal that the major problems include:

The widespread use of "shock" or Electroconvulsive Therapy, the passage of 70 to 170 volts of electricity through the brain-- a controversial practice now rarely used in public hospitals.

The frequent and sometimes experimental use of psychoactive drugs with known dangerous side effects which enable institutions to "cure" patients within the three weeks of hospitalization now covered by most insurance policies.

The practice of stretching admissions criteria to detain patients on 72-hour involuntary holds which critics say is used to maximize the occupancy of hospital facilities.

"Private hospitals haven't been looked into much," says Marvin Brandon, Legal Action Co-ordinator for Los Angeles County's Mental Health Department.

In California, with the lion's share of the nation's more than 200 private psychiatric hospitals and 750 psychiatric units in private general hospitals, yearly licensing inspections are required. But according to Brandon, the private psychiatric hospitals in Los Angeles County have been inspected only "about every two years."

Even then, some of the more questionable practices fail to come under the state inspectors' jurisdiction.

Los Angeles deputy Public Defender Alan Simon says that private psychiatric hospitals often involuntarily detain people who wouldn't be held by state hospitals under California's commitment criteria.

Involuntary detentions, sometimes hastily approved by a psychiatrist, can be costly. San Francisco deputy Public Defender Estella Dooley recalls the case of a middle-aged alcoholic woman who was recently brought into St. Mary's Hospital on a 72-hour involuntary hold and detained for 60

days, until a jury declared her mentally fit. She received a bill for \$10,000.

George C. Collins, Los Angeles County's patients' rights representative, says private hospitals tend to use the 72-hour hold "in direct proportion" to their vacancies.

"Private hospitals are easily bought," says psychiatrist Dr. Peter Breggin, founder of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry in Bethesda, Maryland.

"Husbands looking to commit their wives or parents wanting to commit a son or daughter will go to a private hospital," he says. "The public hospitals aren't looking for more patients to increase their incomes."

Private hospital administrators vehemently disagree. "The issue of admitting or discharging patients is not within our control," says Robert Green, chairman of the Board of Community Psychiatric Centers, the largest of the private chains. "It's up to the attending physician."

Green adds that psychiatrists working in the corporate-run hospitals have free reign. "We don't tell our doctors to be Freudian analysts or shock therapists," he says.

Nevertheless, hospitals emphasizing psychotherapy have become almost extinct, while shock therapy, or ECT, abounds in private institutions.

Mental patients' rights groups claim the treatment can cause permanent brain damage and long term memory loss. Proponents deny these side effects exist and say ECT is sometimes the only means of lifting a patient out of depression.

A 1974 study by the Massachusetts State Mental Health Department showed that 28 percent of patients in private hospitals there received shock treatments, compared to just two percent in state-run institutions. Some private hospitals shocked up to 70 percent of their patients.

Similar patterns exist in New York, D.C., Pennsylvania and California.

Doris Pearsall, an official of the Massachusetts State Health Department who headed the survey on ECT, claims the doctors and hospitals have a financial stake in shock treatment.

Aside from the high costs of the treatment, it profits the hospitals by allowing patients to "recover" and leave the hospital sooner, speeding up patient rotation.

The same benefit comes from use of psychoactive drugs, now used on about 90 percent of all mental patients, according to Dr. Breggin.

The powerful drugs render patients more manageable, but also cause a barrage of side effects including tardive dyskinesia, a form of permanent brain damage which shows up in 30-50 percent of users, according to Dr. George C. Crane, the leading authority on the disease.

"They made our business," says CPC's Green, "since they shortened the length of stay," allowing private psychiatric hospitals to treat and release patients within the three weeks allowed by most insurance companies.

But while the private hospitals profit from the use of drug therapy, they rarely dictate drug administration practices.

Consequently, many doctors in private hospitals are experimenting with the highly controversial use of "polypharmacy" -- the use of as many as five psychoactive drugs concurrently --- and "megadose therapy," injections of drugs at ten or more times the recommended dosages.

At Van Nuys Psychiatric Hospital, a doctor typified another form of drug abuse. For years he handed out identical mimeographed drug orders for three categories of patients: adults, adolescents and addicts. He was stopped earlier this year.

While the private hospitals may not be to blame for the careless practices of some psychiatrists, they are responsible for what critics claim is frequent understaffing.

Though staff/patient ratios in most private hospitals are higher than in their state-run counterparts, the profit incentive leads them to cut back staff whenever the patient census drops and re-hire when the census rises.

As a result, one psychiatric aide at Van Nuys Hospital claims that sometimes during the weekend graveyard shift which he worked patients were "unnecessarily" tied down all night in leather restraints so that he and two nurses could tend to as many as 34 other patients.

Van Nuys administrator Ron Davis claims the hospital never operated with less than three aides accompanying the nurses. But he admits, "it might have happened, if someone were sick, if we couldn't get a replacement, and if we had a flood of new admissions."

Berkeley regional Health Facilities Administrator Marion Vought says such understaffing is chronic. "We find that they try to cut corners," she says.

"They don't use enough permanent staff and they try to fill in with the nurses registry and they end up with shifts uncovered."

Private hospital administrators deny that patient care is in any way slighted by running an efficient, professional and profitable hospital.

"If anything, profit sector hospitals have to be more careful," says Mike Deiner, a former CPC administrator who now heads a non-profit hospital in Los Angeles. "If private hospitals don't please the patient they won't come back."

While public hospitals consider recidivism a problem, the private institutions see it as a vote of confidence. Says Howard Orr, CPC administrator of Belmont Hills Hospital in California, "We've had patients here from 20 years ago and they're still coming back."

(Copyright PNS 1976)





# LOVE OF LAND

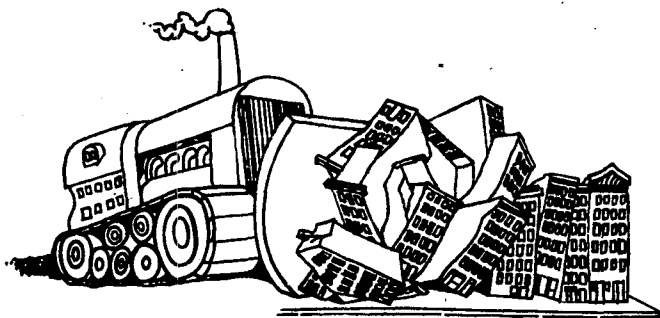
## A guide to the cast of DC's favorite daytime series

IN the late 18th century the French Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt wrote: "In America, where, more than in any other country in the world, a desire for wealth is the prevailing passion, there are few schemes which are not made the means of extensive speculations; and that of erecting the Federal City presented irresistible temptations, which were not in fact neglected." A trio of speculators led by Robert Morris had bought 6000 lots in downtown Washington at \$80 apiece from the city

commissioners. A couple of years later Morris et al unloaded a thousand of the lots at prices running from \$293 to \$526. The downtown land boom was off to a good start and it hasn't stopped to this day. Despite riots, recessions and constant talk of decay and death, speculators have bought, sold and hung on to land that has rapidly increased in value. Today, as almost 200 years ago, land speculation is the city's biggest local industry, spurred by a city hall that subsidizes it. With develop-

er power in the city and at city hall greater than it's been in decades, prospects of turning city policy towards the needs of its other 700,000 residents are not bright. But if we can't change things, we can at least try to understand them. Herewith a guide to some of the cast of the DC land game, with particular attention paid to the clues campaign contributions provide to the close relationship between development interests and certain politicians.

ooo



## DEVELOPERS

**OLIVER CARR:** Current superstar of the developers, Ollie Carr got the West End rezoned pretty much to his satisfaction, is doing the best he can in middle of the Pennsylvania Avenue mess and buying up property elsewhere in downtown. Keeps his hand in civic affairs as a top official of the Board of Trade. Gave \$150 to \$250 contributions to Sterling Tucker, Marion Barry, John Wilson, Arrington Dixon and James Coates in their most recent campaigns.

**CHICAGO BRIDGE & IRON:** Owners of McLean Gardens, still struggling to turn this moderate-rent residential complex into an international chancery complex with the aid of city officials and the firm of Linowes & Blocher.

**GEORGETOWN INLAND:** Major developer on the Georgetown waterfront. **PAUL UPCHURCH** is the man to see.

**FOSTER SHANNON:** President of Shannon & Luchs and the Board of Trade. He and his sidekick, Kenneth Luchs, helped the campaigns of Sterling Tucker and John Wilson.

**JOSEPH HORNING:** Horning is the sort of developer who would give \$100 to Doug Moore (which he did). He also gave \$400 to Tucker and Arrington Dixon and \$200 to Marion Barry and John Wilson. A house builder who is politically more enlightened than most developers, his plans have still raised community hackles at times.

**THE MARRIOTT PEOPLE:** When they're not turning out ranchburgers and checking in guests, they keep a close watch for good property, notably in the West End. Sterling Tucker is the big beneficiary. He got \$1300 from eight Marriott executives, all in a two-day period.

**ULYSSES AUGER:BLACKIE** gave \$1000 to Walter Washington in 1976, \$500 to Sterling Tucker and \$500 to Jerry Moore in 1974. Works with Ollie Carr on the West End. Apparently wants more than houses of beef.

**THEODORE HAGANS:** The grand winner of the Ft. Lincoln bonanza, Hagans held on after Westinghouse and other would-be developers dropped out. Three hundred acres of your former land is now being developed for his profits.

**CONRAD CAFRITZ:** Gave \$200 to Tucker, \$200 to Barry and \$200 to John Wilson. The developer's intellectual.

**CHARLES E. SMITH and ROBERT H. SMITH:** The Charles E. Smith Company is one of the major speculators downtown. Tucker, John Wilson and Walter Washington are among those who have received their campaign bounty.

**WILLIAM HARPS:** Late of the Board of Zoning Adjustment, favored appraiser of the Department of Human Resources, member of the Pinkett real estate firm, board member of Perpetual, former member of the board of Appeals and Review. Harps has had his conflicts of interest clipped sharply by recent disclosures. He gave \$1000 to Walter Washington, also contributed to Sterling Tucker and John Wilson's campaigns.

**FRED W. SMITH:** Realtor who, with his wife Mary, gave

\$1100 to Tucker, and smaller donations to Arrington Dixon, Jerry Moore and Jim Coates.

**WILLIAM & MARY CALOMIRIS:** Other big spenders among the real estate folk. \$1100 to Tucker, \$1000 to Washington, \$200 to John Wilson and \$200 to Jerry Moore.

**DREYFUSS BROTHERS:** Beneficiaries of this real estates firms' largesse include Marion Barry (\$300), John Wilson (\$300), Arrington Dixon (\$200) and Jerry Moore (\$350).

**JOHN T. O'NEILL:** Executive vice president of the Apartment and Office Builders Association. One of the most vocal critics of the city council, complains that "development hinges on whether the new City Council is going to remain anti-business." Apartment owners, incidentally, have contributed hundreds of dollars to various campaigns through the Metropolitan Washington Political Action Committee.

**SWESNIK & BLUM:** Listed recently by the Washington Star as one of the major recent purchasers of downtown land.

**FLAXIE PINKETT:** Old Democratic Party hand and old-line realtor. Gave \$1000 to Walter Washington and \$200 to Arrington Dixon.

**GERALD D. HINES:** This Houston firm is dickering with the city to lease 300,000 square feet at 12th & G NW to build a large office building. The city wants the ground floor limited to small retail space and Hines doesn't like that. There is rumored to be a connection between sealing this agreement and getting a go-ahead on the convention center. Here's a strange quote from the Star on the project: "Although a Hines spokesman said the firm was still hopeful, some observers believe that the probe of Joseph Yeldell would make it nearly impossible for the city to enter into such a lease."

## PARKERS

The parking tax and other city policies allegedly designed to discourage the use of the automobile downtown don't seem to have fazed the parking lobby. The fact is that the aggregate effect of city policy is to encourage more cars. For example, Metro will increase rather than decrease downtown auto traffic for the simple reason that it will encourage new development, the transit demand of which will only partially be met by Metro. Most of the new traffic will come by car. Thus it is not surprising that parking interests are quietly assembling land in downtown in anticipation of the convention center and other traffic-generating activities. Some key figures in the parking lobby:

**D.F. ANTONELLI:** Best known these days for his extracurricular activities with Joe Yeldell, Antonelli is the longtime parking king. Walter Washington got \$1000 from him in his campaign for mayor. Sterling Tucker got \$750 from him and \$500 from his company, PMI. Cited in a recent Star article on downtown development as one of those who "have quietly been assembling land in the old downtown section of the city."

**L.B. DOGGETT:** Right up there with Antonelli, Doggett reportedly has his eyes on those 5000 parking spaces that will be needed for the convention center but



aren't provided in the plans. Doggett gave \$500 to Tucker, \$1000 to the mayor and smaller contributions to John Wilson and Jim Coates, the former head of the economic development committee.

Other parking interests that have shown concern for local candidates include Ollie Carr's CAR PARK. Politicians who are among the parking lobby's favorites are Sterling Tucker who got 6% of his 1976 individual contributions from the lobby and Ward Two's John Wilson who got 3% of his individual contributions from parking interests.

## THE 'PUBLIC' SECTOR

The biggest development project in town is not being carried out by private entrepreneurs but by the Washing Metropolitan Transit Authority. Although ostensibly a transit system, Metro, in fact, was originally conceived and today continues (in the face of exorbitant costs) because of its value to land development.

Metro-induced inflation of land prices near subway stops is having a tremendous effect on communities, individuals and existing businesses. Taxes will rise rapidly near Metro locations, developers are requesting zoning changes, and small businesses are being hit with huge rent increases or being forced out. One jeweler along Connecticut Avenue, a few blocks from the Cleveland Park station that won't open until 1980, has already been socked with a \$1000 a month rent increase.

Although Metro professes disinterest in the development implications of its activities, city planners are using the coming of Metro to force unwanted changes on communities. One of the strangest arguments being used is that higher densities around subway stations are necessary to provide needed ridership for the system, which makes one wonder what happened to earlier arguments that the subway was being built to meet a need.

Metro was prohibited from buying land around subway stops for later resale as prices rose. That would have reduced the cost of the system, but also cut profits to private interests. As it stands, developers are among the few who will clearly make a buck out of Metro.

Other public or non-profit institutions involved in the DC land-grab include:

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY: Far and away the most avaricious of the egghead entrepreneurs, GWU has seized whole blocks for its expansion plans, which include commercial office buildings as well as more traditional campus structures. It doesn't seem to have produced any notable improvement in the university's educational quality.

THE PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE DEVELOPMENT CORP.: Ultimately involved here is a \$130 million subsidy for avenue developers. Community protests have saved a number of key buildings along the avenue but plans are still in the works to underwrite the construction of 1500 housing units for the affluent with public funds. According to Michael Frome, writing in the Washingtonian, at least 120 small businesses would be evicted and as many as 25,000 more cars would be brought into the area by the development.

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: GPO's plans to relocate in Upper Northeast means not only the destruction of existing businesses on its proposed site, but major new development attractions in the vicinity.

er and \$1000 to Walter Washington and \$100 to John Wilson. Held a cocktail party for council candidates last August to let them meet S&L biggies.

THOMAS OWEN: Thornton's son is president of Perpetual. He gave \$300 to Tucker, \$100 to John Wilson and \$100 to Jim Coates. Between Thornton and Tom and other board members, we've tracked more than \$7500 in individual contributions from Perpetual officials in recent campaigns, including \$4500 to Big Wally, \$1700 to Sterling Tucker and \$400 to John Wilson.

L.A. JENNINGS: Chairman of the Advisory Board at Riggs, Jennings gave \$400 to Tucker and \$1000 to Walter Washington. VINCENT BURKE, chairman of the board, gave Washington \$500 and GEORGE MONKS, attorney to Riggs, gave Tucker \$100. That's at least \$2000 to local campaigns from Riggs people.

B. DOYLE MITCHELL: President of Industrial Bank and treasurer of Tucker's 1974 campaign.

JOHN STADLER: National Permanent Savings & Loan honcho who gave \$700 to Tucker and \$200 to John Wilson, \$200 to Arrington Dixon, and smaller amounts to Marion Barry, Jerry Moore and Jim Coates.

JOSEPH RILEY: Riley, National Savings & Trust, gave \$200 to Arrington Dixon, and smaller amounts to Marion Barry, Jerry Moore and Jim Coates.

TRUE DAVIS: National Bank man who gave \$500 to Tucker and \$1000 to Walter Washington.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD: Independence Federal and loser in the race for the rights at Ft. Lincoln gave \$625 to Sterling Tucker and \$200 to Douglas Moore.

JOHN NEVIUS: Former chairman of the appointed city council and then lobbyist for the bankers.

## LAWYERS

WILKES AND ARTIST: Long the big zoning lawyers in town and a sort of Leisure World for former staffers at the DC Corporation Counsel's office, W&A is losing some of the biggies these days to Linowes & Blocher, but if you want the city to go along with what you plan to do you can't beat Wilkes & Artist. Especially powerful at the Zoning Commission and Board of Zoning Adjustment. NORMAN GLASGOW, the one with the cigar, is the firm's heavy. WAYNE QUINN is the nice guy.

LINOWES & BLOCHER: Rising fast with some well-heeled big clients, like prospective developers of McLean Gardens and 12th & G NW, L&B knows how to find the action and deal with recalcitrant citizen groups. They hired HARLEY DANIELS, erstwhile aide to Walter Fauntroy, to ride shotgun, although ROBERT LINOWES shows up when the going gets tough. Members of the firm and their families contributed to a number of campaigns. TUCKER seems the firm favorite but Barry, Wilson and Jim Coates each got \$100 from ROBERT LINOWES.

JAMES HUDSON and CHESTER DAVENPORT: These fellow lawyers are key legal beagles in the development game. Hudson is the city's bond advisor; Davenport who led the lobbying effort against the real estate transaction tax was a transition advisor to President Carter on housing and transportation.

LEONARD McCANTS: Now in practice for himself, McCants worked three years for Linowes & Blocher, and is a former head of the Young Democrats. He switched to his own practice just before joining the Board of Zoning Adjustment. His most recent activity has been to churn out ideas for President Carter on how to supervise with America's last continental colony, a job he got with the help of Chester Davenport.

## BANKERS

Perhaps because bankers tend to be a stingy lot, they have more influence in this town than their campaign contributions would indicate. Also they can perform favors in other ways, such as loaning the city \$600,000 below prevailing rates to do planning on the convention center and then not collecting. A few of the more generous bankers are listed below:

THORNTON OWEN: Chairman of the board of Perpetual, member of the housing legislative committee of the council, and overseer of more than 20,000 mortgages that Perpetual holds in the city. Owens is not sitting as pretty as he was in the days when he had two of his board members on the Board of Zoning Adjustment. He's also run into stiff opposition over plans to construct a new outlet at 18th & Columbia, which some residents fear will be used to provide money for speculators to kick them out of Adams-Morgan. A strong backer of downtown urban renewal, the convention center and the urban development corporation, Owen gave \$550 to Sterling Tucker

## LABOR

THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL: Because city policy has skewed the economy so heavily towards real estate and development, a high level of public and private construction is considered vital by labor leaders. Unions work quietly but effectively to boost projects like Metro and the convention center because of the construction jobs involved. Many of these jobs, however, go to non-DC residents. Further, public works projects often have only a transitory effect on the economy. Even Metro will not create private construction jobs anywhere close to the number required during the time of its construction. Convention centers and other public buildings have even less of an effect on the longterm construction job situation.

Because a city like Washington has relatively little undeveloped land, the only way construction jobs in the private market can be maintained is by rezonings and redevelopment that encourage the removal of existing properties and their replacement by new ones. Thus

the construction trades unions become a major party of interest in the ripping up of DC.

There are other ways of providing blue collar jobs in DC. For example, the Mayor's Economic Development Committee noted in 1969 that there were 900 acres of land zoned for manufacturing in the city, capable of supporting 90,000 jobs. In fact, only 25,000 city jobs were in manufacturing. The committee warned: "The relatively low level of manufacturing activity in the District of Columbia used to be compatible with maintenance of an overall high level of employment in the District. This is no longer true. The low level contributes now, and unless remedied will continue to contribute, to a structural unemployment problem." Not only has the situation not been remedied since 1969 but it has gotten worse, as city planning policies have eliminated land zoned for manufacturing and sliced manufacturing-type jobs.

## CONSULTANTS

The favored "independent" consultant of the moment is Gladstone Associates, which is corporately intertwined with the Quadrangle Development Corporation. Despite Quadrangle's ownership of properties adjacent to the West End, Gladstone was chosen to do an economic analysis of building potentials for the West End in relation to zoning. Among these properties, according to 1974 testimony of the Washington Ecology Center before the Zoning Commission, are 2030 M Street worth \$6-7 million, 22nd & P, valued at \$10 million and 21st & K with an estimated value of \$8 million.

Gladstone Associates' most recent activity has been to draw up the latest case for building a convention center.

## FLACKS

Key responsibility for making the developer ripoff seem respectable can be laid at the feet of the two daily papers and the Washingtonian.

THE POST deals primarily in contorted pseudo-aesthetics, the STAR in comfortable cliches. Both devote many inches of editorial space each week to paens to the projects and special needs of developers. Normal journalistic standards stop at the real estate page's edge. From there on, it's unabashed puffery all the way. THE WASHINGTONIAN spend an inordinate amount of time trying to make the politics of the region correspond to its circulation area, and strokes developer interests. It actually named Ollie Carr as a Washingtonian of the Year.

## FLACK ON SABBATICAL

No one can make a bad plan sound more like just what you've always wanted than Wolf Von Eckhardt of the Post. He has attempted to convey the impression that he takes a dispassionate view of it all, but when it comes to development schemes he's a sheep in Wolf's clothing. He has taken a sabbatical to help start a museum to memorialize some of the stuff he's been writing about.

## RETAILERS

Compared to the developers, the retail trade's involvement in local development schemes seems puny. The one exception is Woodward & Lothrop where President EDWIN HOFFMAN is a major booster of such misbegotten projects as the downtown urban renewal and the convention center. Hoffman gave \$750 to Tucker, \$300 to Barry, and \$1000 on Walter Washington. Three percent of Sterling Tucker's individual contributions came from Woodies' executives.

JOHN HECHINGER, the wood man and owner of the land at the east end of the key H Street renewal area, also made contributions to various candidates, but they seemed to reflect his politics (Barry and John Wilson got more than Tucker) more than his business interests.

## ARCHITECTS

VLASTIMIL KOUBEK: The boxman, responsible for many of the cartons along K Street and elsewhere, was described by another architect as the sort "who takes the zoning envelope and designs the outer four inches." Prolific and dull.

ARTHUR COTTON MOORE: Nothing would look better next to a Koubek building than one by A.C. Smart developers know it. Responsible for mitigating some of the damage done by the Georgetown waterfront plan and the restoration of the Cairo Hotel.

## UTILITIES

The utilities, secondary beneficiaries of the development craze, have been cautious about campaign contributions to local politicians with one notable exception: PEPCO. Top PEPCO officials gave Sterling Tucker \$1000, Marion Barry \$500, John Wilson \$600, Arrington Dixon \$500 and Walter Washington \$1500 in their most recent campaigns. These contributions were, in almost every case, delivered on the same day for each candidate, although this was not readily apparent in Barry's reports as the contributions were not listed in chronological order as is conventional.

## FRIENDS AT COURT

WALTER WASHINGTON: Walter's done his best to please the developers but his government's inefficiency and charges of corruption are beginning to get on their nerves. They'd like to see the torch passed to:

STERLING TUCKER: The developer's best friend, Sterling got 42% of his individual contributions in the 1974 campaign from real estate and development interests, 12% from financial interests, 3% from Woodies executives and 3% from Pepco officials. If you can't get what you want from Sterling you better forget about campaign contributions. Tucker is considered smart, loyal and reliable. Unlike Walter, Tucker doesn't seem to have made a hit with the unions, and he can't preach worth a damn. It'll be interesting to see if developer money and backing will be sufficient to propel him into the mayor's seat.

THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING OFFICE: Headed by BEN GILBERT, late of the Washington Post, Gilbert and his office function as middlemen in the intricate business of zoning changes, planning, and justifications that are a necessary part of giving developers what they want. MPO sometimes will side with the citizens but on the average, for a bunch not receiving any campaign contributions and not on the take, they provide pretty reliable assistance to the development lobby. Gilbert's major gifts to the developers include the Georgetown waterfront and the West End. Uncompleted projects include McLean Gardens and the convention center.

THE ZONING COMMISSION AND THE BOARD OF ZONING ADJUSTMENT: Both these acts have been cleaned up in recent years. The Board of Zoning Adjustment no longer has two board members of Perpetual sitting on it. But it does have Leonard McCants, for three years a lawyer for Linowes & Blocher.

The Zoning Commission is not as bad as it was in the days when Sterling Tucker sat on it pretending he could make impartial decisions concerning Georgetown and the West End, but this supposedly independent body still gets its staffing from the Mayor's Municipal Planning Office even though the MPO itself presents plans for Zoning Commission approval. It's not as sexy a conflict of interest as some of those that make the papers, only more serious.

JERRY MOORE: The sole Republican on the council, head of the transportation and environment committee, one of the city's torpid delegates to Metro, and the guy who hears requests for alley closings. For a Republican on a Democratic council he's got some pretty choice jobs. In his last role he has helped to give away city land — alleys — to developers. But the gift of land is sometimes only a minor part of what the developer gets out of the deal. The alley closing can permit a developer to build to a height and density otherwise not permitted. In his first campaign for office, Jerry Moore got at least 31% of his individual contributions from real estate and financial interests. We're not through looking at his 1976 reports.

THE BOARD OF ELECTIONS AND ETHICS: It is perhaps too much to ask the board to not only count the votes right but to keep an eye on the winners, too. The board



has gotten much better at the former job, but is sloppy and indifferent on matters of ethics and campaign reports. We found contribution reports incomplete, mathematically inaccurate or missing. For example, the latest contribution report we could find for Marion Barry was October 20, two weeks before the election. Barry's camp claims the later reports were filed, the board accepts the claim, but couldn't find the reports. Numerous candidates failed to list contributors by occupation and business address. We found aggregated contributions computed wrong.

The board has also turned a deaf ear to charges of conflicts-of-interest such as the relationship between the enormous percentage of real estate money in the Tucker campaign and his role in pressing for an urban development corporation.

## NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK

While the development lobby has no reason to fear Sterling Tucker or Jerry Moore, several other councilmembers are still undeveloped land. The ones in whom the lobby have taken the most interest are:

**MARION BARRY:** Marion Barry is becoming regarded by big business interests as far more friendly than they had imagined. Some of his old friends are afraid they are right. Right now Barry's position might best be described as uneasy ambivalence. On some issues like the transaction tax, he has taken a pro-citizen position. How he will come out on several others, such as the convention center, remains in doubt. Barry attracted 12% of his individual contributions from real estate and finan-

cial interests, based on the incomplete campaign contribution reports available.

**JOHN WILSON:** For a ward member, Wilson has shown real chutzpa in raising funds. His ward includes much of the prime development land. Twenty percent of his sizable 1976 campaign treasury came from real estate and financial interests, another 5% came from liquor dealers, including ones not in his ward. He also seems exceptionally proficient soliciting among the solicitors. We found more than 30 lawyers who gave him \$100 to \$200 contributions.

**ARRINGTON DIXON:** No one outside of Ward Four knew Arrington Dixon when he first ran for office. But by his 1976 reelection campaign, he was being regarded as one of the up and coming politicians of the town. Real estate and financial interests were among those who spotted Dixon's potential and provided 18% of the funds needed for his reelection.

The three councilmembers listed above have all shown themselves often to be friends of the ordinary citizen. But even the good guys can be made vulnerable.

Others who are potential targets include **NADINE WINTER**, the council's housing person, and **WILHELMINA ROLARK**, who'll be heading up the economic development committee. Winter received only 6% of her 1974 individual contributions from real estate interests, but her key role in housing may attract more attention next time. It happened that way to Jim Coates. Nothing could be further from the political minds of most downtown interests than trans-Anacostia's Ward Eight, but because Coates served as head of the council's economic development committee he received substantial contributions from the development lobby, which found out to its sorrow that not even money seems to be the key to anarchistic Anacostian politics. Coates lost to Wilhelmina Rolark who received a third of her contributions from unions.

## Atlanta blues

Local planners, developers and the real estate press are fond of citing Atlanta as an example of what DC could become if we only put up enough office buildings and civic monuments.

Atlanta, however, may be a bad model. A January 9 front-page story in the New York Times reported:

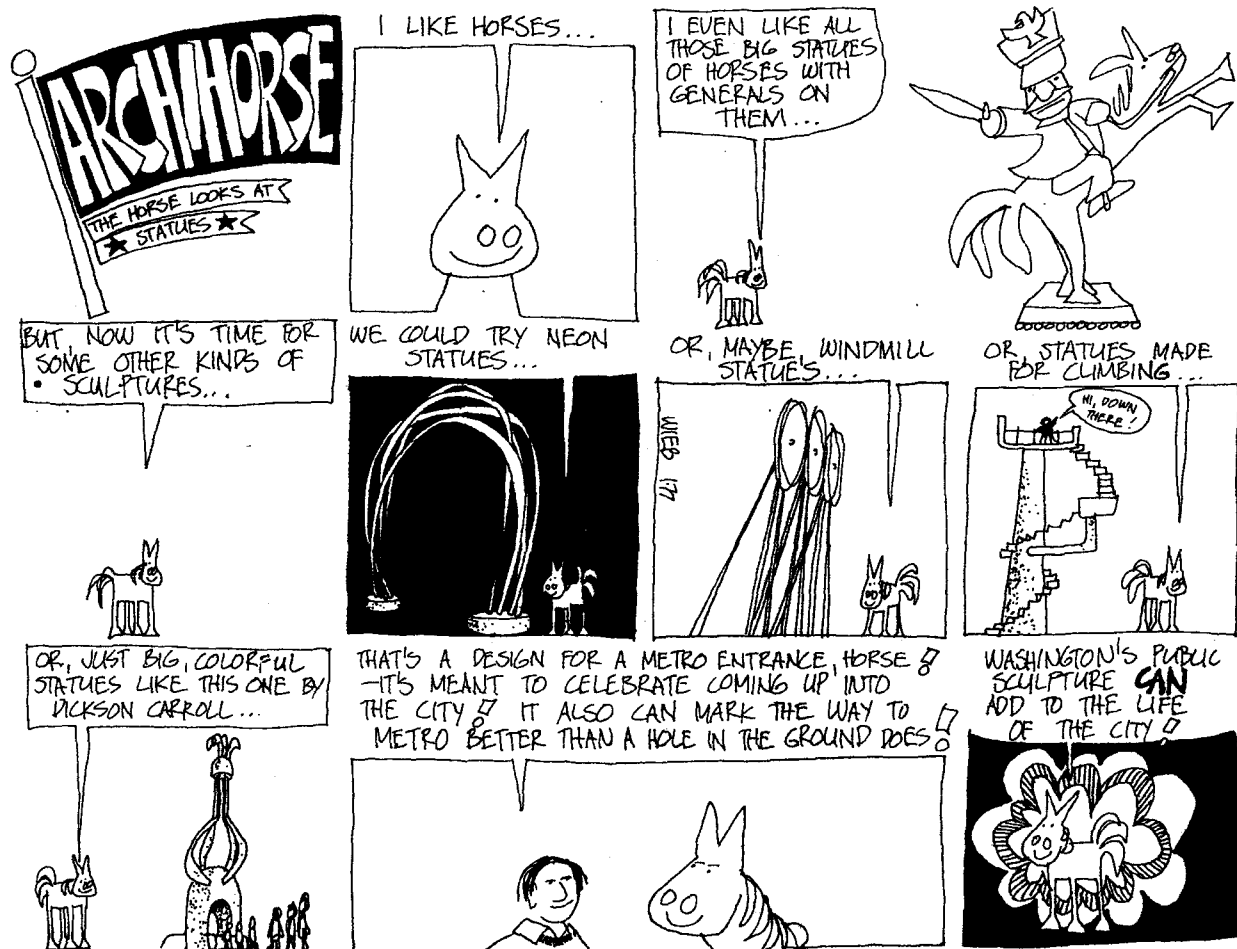
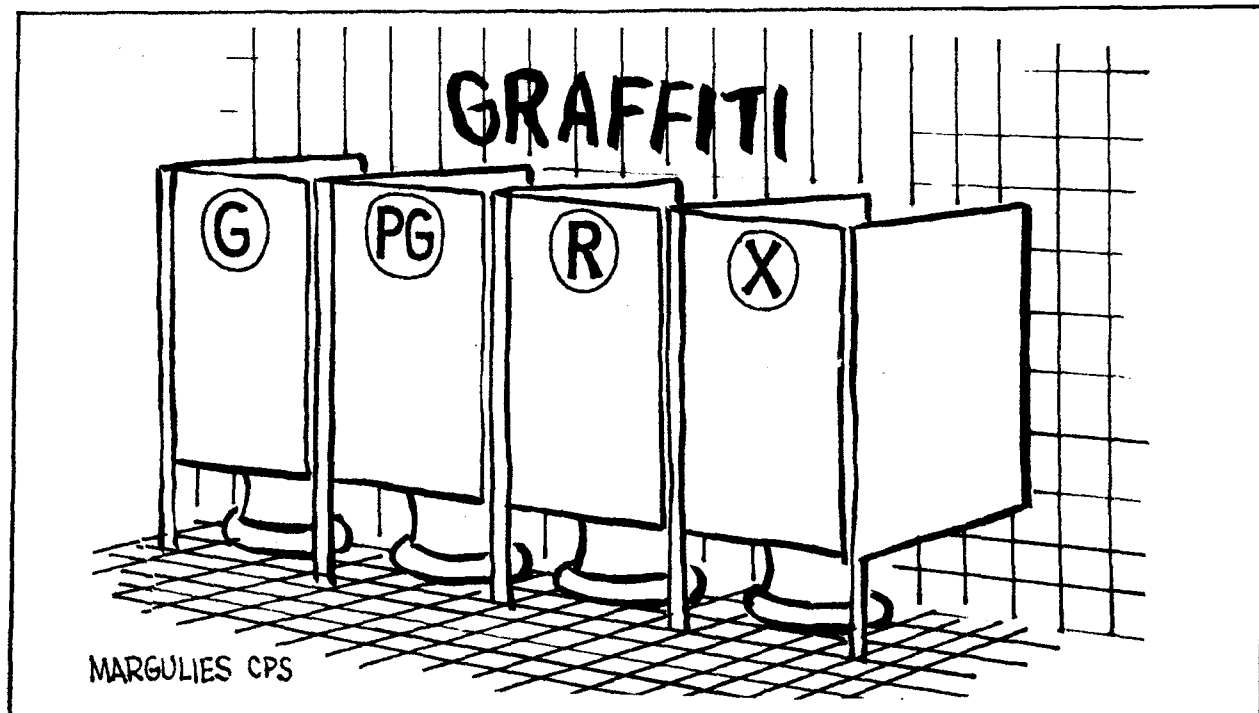
"Atlanta, which prides itself as being the South's queen city, is in the midst of a painful economic retrenchment after a decade of extraordinary expansion. . .

"Here in Atlanta, spanking new downtown office space is standing empty, three huge new luxury hotels are in uneasy competition, with a fourth in serious trouble, real estate is still sluggish, new building is practically nonexistent, and some of the city's most ballyhooed attractions, most notably the Disney-like glass-enclosed World of Syd and Marty Krofft, are at financial rock bottom. . ."

The Times reported that one quarter of the city's office space is vacant, the \$100 million Colony Square shopping and living complex has announced bankruptcy, there is no prospect "for a quick return to boom times."

What happened? Said Wyche Fowler, the vice mayor of Atlanta, "We're very much a real estate town. If real estate sours, the whole economy tastes like a lemon."

Says Donald Ratajcsak, an economist at The Georgia State University, "Over-extension is the word. Atlanta is overbuilt and we've got an absorption problem, basically building a lot more than we would readily absorb."



# Getting along

A STRANGE reptile that kills humans with its bad breath is reportedly terrorizing villagers in western India.

Newspaper reports from New Delhi recount that the unusual snake is known as the "Peevana." At least five residents of the Pokharan desert area west of New Delhi are reported to have been killed recently by the 20-inch-long snake.

According to published accounts, the reptile attacks its victims by slithering in the dark across their chests while they are asleep in bed. The snake allegedly doesn't bite them, but opens its mouth and breathes directly into the victims noses without waking them.

The Indian newspapers say that after victims have received a fatal dose of the serpent's breath, the Peevana "sadistically" awakens them by slapping them with its tail before slithering off into the darkness again, leaving the victims to die slowly.

According to all published accounts, no "Peevana" has ever been captured dead or alive. Large cash rewards for its capture have been offered from time to time over the past several centuries.

DURING the 1960's, a big issue on college campuses was the right of students to be represented on the boards of directors of their colleges and universities.

Now, a new government report is out with the surprising conclusion that students who are currently on the boards of directors of their colleges tend to have a pro-management bias.

The report, titled "Students and Collective Bargaining," shows that students who have participated in faculty school salary negotiations appear to have a "slight pro-management bias, because of their concerns over tuition levels."

The study indicates, however, that on issues of class size and faculty work load, the student representatives tend to side with their professors.

THE burger of the future may be coming to the American public at 45 miles per hour.

That's how quickly Chutes, the newest fad in fast food chains, gets burgers, shakes and fries to the customer. Chutes, which has just opened its third fast food eatery in Kansas last month, works very like a drive-in bank.

Customers pull up at the first station and shout their orders into a voice box, which relays them to the kitchen. At the same time, money is desposited in a plastic cylinder that zips to the cashier.

After the change is returned in a dispenser, customers then move the car to the second post, where from the kitchen, the "Torpedo Man" — as Chutes affectionately dubs him or her — jets the food through another set of tubes . . . at 45 miles an hour to the customer. The entire operation is accomplished — barring hitches — in just one minutes.

"GIVING the finger," or raising the middle finger in a gesture of contempt, has been ruled offensive, but "not obscene" by a three judge state panel in Hartford, Connecticut. The decision was handed down in the case of a 16-year-

old high school student who had been fined \$25 for flashing the gesture at a state trooper while the policeman was following his school bus.

In an opinion written by Judge Leo Parskey, the panel ruled that for "the finger" to be obscene, it must be significantly erotic or arouse sexual interest. The judge wrote that neither seems to be the case.

Judge Parskey, in an historical digression, went on to say that the one-digit gesture dated back at least to ancient Greece, when the philosopher Diogenes insulted the orator Demosthenes by raising the middle finger during one of Demosthenes' speeches.

AN Australian geneticist says that women are slowly catching up with men in competitive sports, and may even equal them in the not-too-distant future.

Doctor K.F. Dyer says that a study of male and female athletic performances in 15 countries indicates that lack of sport opportunities, rather than innate physical differences, have kept women lagging behind men in sports competition.

Dyer says that it was not until 1928 that women were even permitted to enter the Olympic Games competition, and quotes figures showing that women have been steadily catching up with their male counterparts ever since.

Human Behavior magazine, which quotes Dyer's findings, says that women's times trail men's by only six to 10 percent today. If that trend continues, says Dyer, the two sexes should be equally competitive in sports.

A MICHIGAN newsletter now enables junkfood junkies to enjoy such things as Colonel Sanders chicken or Hostess Twinkies baked right in their own kitchens.

Cooking specialist Gloria Pitzer of Pearl Beach, Michigan, says she has spent the last two years operating "like a chemist" to break down the recipe secrets used in America's favorite fast-food products.

Her monthly newsletter — which sells for 25 cents a copy — tells you how to duplicate the colonel's chicken, or Arthur Treacher's fish and chips, or Twinkies, or Shake 'N' Bake, or even Oreo cookies. That white filling in an Oreo, for example, is merely an equal mixture of Crisco and powdered sugar, with a little gelatin and water. The mailing address is Gloria Pitzer, Pearl Beach, Michigan 48052.

IS Bloomingdale's promoting marijuana?

High Times magazine is reporting that the January sales catalog mailed out by the New York-based department store chain features a hefty cannabis plant in one of its photo displays.

High Times researchers say that on page 55 of the current catalog, an advertisement for window blinds features a robust pot plant perched illegally on a window ledge.

It's not a plastic marijuana plant either, says High Times, because the Bloomingdale's plant sags a bit, and plastic pot plants don't.

What does Bloomingdale's have to say about it? "We rented the plant," insists a spokesperson, "and we were told it was a fern."

(ZNS)

## CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED ADS: 10¢ a word. Payment must be enclosed with ad. Deadline: Third Tuesday of the month. Send to DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW (#2) DC 20009

POTTERY CLASSES for adults and children starting in February. Hand-building and wheel-throwing. For registration call 882-2910.

"Good resumes get good jobs. Write yours effectively. Instructions, samples. \$2.50. Type-Right, 786 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045."

THE LIVING Stage, a professional improvisational theater company, will hold its benefit performance and auction on Feb. 13, 3-8 pm, St. Marks Church, 3rd & A SE.





# intergalactic flashes

THREE Kentucky women are reporting that their car was stopped in the backwoods of that state by a large U.F.O. last year, and that they were apparently taken aboard the craft and examined by humanoid beings.

Three three women — Louise Smith, Mona Stafford and Elaine Thomas — say they are making their story known after they reportedly passed extensive lie detector tests about the experience administered by a polygraph expert.

The three state that the incident occurred shortly before midnight one evening last year when they spotted what looked like a huge metallic-gray disc-shaped space ship following their car.

Immediately after the reported encounter, all three women returned to their homes in Liberty, reporting an illness and burning sensation over their bodies. They also realized that they had no recollection of a "missing" 90-minute interval during their journey home.

A consulting psychologist, Dr. R. Leo Sprinkle, subsequently interviewed the three women separately under hypnosis, and all three have reportedly recalled details of being taken aboard the craft.

The women state that they were placed in separate compartments and apparently were examined individually by the four or five beings. One of the women, Elaine Thomas, recalls that the alleged abductors were four-foot-tall humanoids with dark eyes and gray skin.

All three of the women say that they suffered skin irritations for days following the incident, and two of them suffered extreme losses in weight.

The Tucson-based Aerial Phenomena Research Organization, which has been investigating the strange account, says its investigators have concluded that all three of the women are regarded by friends and neighbors as being completely reliable.

Polygraph expert James Young states that his tests indicate that the women believe they are telling the truth.

A CALIFORNIA-BASED group called The International Society for the Investigation of Ghosts has set up what it calls the "International Ghost Registry" in order to keep a scientific record of all apparitions.

The founder of the registry, psychic researcher Mark Turck of Fresno, says that a worldwide ghost library is being established because he has discovered that no such registry exists today.

Turck is a long-time ghost hunter who firmly believes in the disembodied spirits. He says he has seen what he thinks are ghosts on a number of occasions.

What does a real ghost look like? According to Turck, it can appear slightly transparent, or even like a real person — except that it will do something strange, like walk through a wall. The address for the International Ghost Registry is PO Box 5011; Salinas, CA, 93901.

A FLYING saucer research organization is accusing the governments of both the United States and Iran of covering up the details of a dramatic U.F.O. incident which reportedly occurred over Iran last September 19th.

The National Investigations Committee on Aerial Phenomena claims that the strange incident was witnessed by trained Iranian pilots, radar crews on the ground and many civilians.

According to NICAP, the incident began shortly after midnight when Iran's assistant deputy commander of operations, B.G. Yousefit, ordered an Iranian F-4 jet to intercept and investigate a powerfully bright light that appeared to be moving across the sky.

According to the NICAP account, the F-4 jet approached what appeared to be a large craft when its communications system suddenly went dead. NICAP says a second F-4 was then dispatched, which reportedly picked up the object both visually and on its radar — the latter indicating the unknown craft was about the size of a 707 jet aircraft.

NICAP claims that the U.F.O., moving at many times the speed of sound, seemed to dispatch a high-speed smaller craft toward the second Iranian jet. The jet reportedly took evasive action and moved away as fast as possible, but was circled by the smaller craft, which then returned "to the mother ship."

Witnesses to the incident are quoted as stating that the large U.F.O. finally sped away, but only after it ejected what appeared to be a lighted object onto a dry lake bed below.

The U.F.O. itself was described as giving off a multi-colored strobe light that was so intense that crew members aboard the Iranian jets were nearly blinded by it.

NICAP adds that a careful search of the lake bed the next day for the object allegedly dropped by the U.F.O. turned up nothing. The group says that American officials are aware of all facts in the case, but have withheld comment.

THE official Soviet press has issued a stinging denunciation of a widely-circulated underground publication which alleges that UFO's are real.

The lengthy underground essay, containing the signature of a leading Soviet astronomer, alleges that at least 300 reliable UFO sightings are being suppressed by leaders in the Kremlin.

Among the reported incidents are accounts of exotic disc-like objects hovering over Russian cities for up to 45 minutes, and causing all car engines below to stall.

In response, the Soviet youth newspaper, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, is blaming the entire flying saucer craze on the Pentagon. According to the newspaper, the Pentagon is merely fabricating UFO accounts to frighten Americans into spending more money for advanced military weapons.

# the other government

Within minutes of Lee Harvey Oswald's arrest in Dallas shortly after the assassination of President Kennedy, the wire services were circulating reports about Oswald's alleged links with communist causes and with Fidel Castro.

A number of assassination researchers have been puzzled about the source of much of this "instant information" since it seemed to pour out almost simultaneously with Oswald's arrest.

Seth Kantor, a reporter today with The Detroit News who was in Dallas on the day of the assassination, has revealed that much of the information on Oswald apparently came from a CIA operative in Miami.

Kantor writes that he was at Love Field in Dallas covering the swearing-in of Lyndon Johnson, at about the same moment Oswald was arrested. Kantor states he was urgently instructed to contact a Scripps-Howard reporter in Miami named Harold Hendrix to get biographical information on Oswald.

Kantor says that his instructions came so close to Oswald's arrest that he did not even know the alleged assassin's first name at the time.

Kantor states that when he telephone Hendrix, he was immediately supplied with a run-down on Oswald's background—linking Oswald to Pro-Castro activities.

Kantor says he was puzzled at the time at how a reporter in Miami had obtained such background data on Oswald. However, it has since been revealed in Senate hearings on ITT and

Chile that Hendrix recently has been serving as a CIA contact in Chile.

In addition, former CIA Executive Assistant Victor Marchetti has identified Hendrix as a CIA "media friend" who acted as a conduit for CIA leaks at the time of the Kennedy assassination.

The speed with which the pro-Castro information on Oswald was published has caused some critics to charge that it was prepared for release even prior to Oswald's arrest.

Former New York Times Reporter Tad Szulc is alleging that the Pentagon and the CIA are secretly training several hundred foreign guerillas at abandoned airfields in California.

Szulc, in an article in the January edition of *Penthouse Magazine*, claims that the trainees include Laotians, Cambodians, Afghans, Kurds and even Russians.

Szulc writes: "This, presumably, portends new covert operations, to be run mainly by the military, all over the world. Appropriate congressional committees apparently have not been informed of it despite legislative requirements," Szulc says.

The Kurds being trained are reportedly the survivors of the Kurdish Tribal Army that fought against Iraq with CIA support under a secret program approved by President Nixon in 1972. Most of that army was destroyed, Szulc says, when the U.S. suddenly withdrew its support and it was crushed by the Iraqi army.



# The FBI plot against Antioch

Since the FBI counterintelligence program "Cointelpro" first became public knowledge in 1971, numerous government campaigns to infiltrate, discredit, frame and otherwise disrupt activist organizations and individuals on campuses have come to light. Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, has the dubious distinction of being the first known case in which an educational institution itself was the target of a Cointelpro program. Late last fall Antioch's student paper, the Record, reprinted documents from the FBI's Cincinnati office which were released by the Senate Intelligence Committee. These documents, which were censored by the FBI before release, identified Antioch's Yellow Springs campus and the town itself as a "center for New Left Activity" and outlined a plan of action aimed at discrediting Antioch's academic reputation.

To "expose the pseudo-intellectual image of Antioch," the FBI would identify Antioch graduates with a "low achievement record." It would then furnish the information to "friendly news media," parents and other sources of financial support for the college.

Another memo, dated June 3, 1968, gave J. Edgar Hoover's go-ahead for the program of action.

The FBI's Cointelpro campaign against Antioch was not unlike strategies used against the New Left in other cities and on other campuses. Another FBI memo reprinted by the Record supplies suggestions for counterintelligence actions which "can be utilized by all offices." The suggestions include: preparation of a leaflet designed to show that New Left activists do not represent the majority of students ("naturally the most obnoxious pictures, of activists, should be used"); sending anonymous letters to the parents, parents employers and neighbors of activists regarding the New Left members' activities; taking advantage of personal conflicts between New Left leaders; and use of cartoons and photographs ridiculing the left, since "ridicule is one of the most potent weapons which we can use against it."

Point 4 of the memo suggested: "The use of articles from student newspapers and/or the 'underground press' to show the depravity of New Left leaders and members. In this connection, articles showing advocacy of the use of narcotics and free sex are ideal to send to university officials, wealthy donors, members of the legislature and parents of students who are active in New Left matters."

Point number 7 recommended "anonymous letters or leaflets describing faculty members and graduate assistants in the various institutions of learning who are active in New Left matters ... Such letters could be signed 'A Concerned Alumni' or 'A Concerned taxpayer.'"

These last two points suggest a connection between the Cointelpro program against Antioch and a letter reprinted by the Record which reads like a communication from a random right-wing crackpot. The letter was sent in 1970 to Lever Bros., after the company made a substantial contribution to the Antioch Law School in Washington, D.C.

"When you gave money to Antioch College, in Yellow Springs, Ohio," the writer warned, "you were aiding and abetting Communism, Anarchy, Revolution." The school had become a "diploma mill," the letter claimed — overrun with crime, promiscuity, drugs and communist propaganda.

Attached to the letter were xeroxed copies of Record articles, among them: "Drug Dealer Loses \$1,300 in Robbery,"

"Pushers Organize," "'Filth and Amoral-ity'," and "Faculty 'Taxes' Self to Defend Panthers." Also included was a copy of a gay liberation leaflet and a partial listing of "radical courses" offerings and professors.

In response to what it called "a systematic, illegal, and outrageous attack upon the academic reputation of Antioch College," the school applied for FBI documents and records relating to the Yellow Springs and other Antioch campuses under the Freedom of Information Act.

That was on November 24, 1975, and Antioch is still waiting for the FBI to release the requested materials. The bureau's only response has been a standard letter from the FBI acknowledging receipt of the requests and asking for more time to provide the documents.

Bureau inaction, the Record suggested, "has brought the need for further legal action into serious consideration." Last fall a petition was circulated among Antioch students and faculty, calling upon the college to initiate litigation against the FBI in order to obtain the materials. According to a Record staff member, a majority of students on the Yellow Springs campus signed the petition; what the college will do is not yet clear, she says. The administration is presently most concerned about the college's tenuous financial situation — a situation which the FBI did its part to help create.

Although Antioch has experienced a long delay in trying to get its FBI files, delay itself is not unusual for those trying to gain documents under the FOIA. According to Rick Wagner, a New York legal worker, the average delay is about 9 or 10 months.

"The federal agencies administer the FOIA, as most laws are administered, with a keen political awareness of what their interests are," said Wagner.

According to the FBI Cointelpro was begun in 1968 and officially discontinued immediately after the Media, Pennsylvania disclosures in 1971. But cases of Cointelpro-like programs as early as 50's and as late as 1974 have been documented.

And Cointelpro, Wagner cautioned, "was only one of thousands of federal-ese acronyms for intelligence programs" — programs which make the Watergate affair look like a tea party."

This article was prepared by LNS with assistance from Ron Williams and the Antioch Record



CHARLIE HALLECK, one of the city's better judges, is still in limbo thanks to the efforts of the US Attorneys office and others. If you know any Carterites looking for something good to do for DC, tell them to get JC to renominate Halleck.

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## THE FORTY YEAR OLD HIPPIE





## FLOTSAM CONT'D

administration but to destroy the whole tight little world of conflicts-of-interest, improper favors, unequal administration, payoffs and repression in which many of the powerful of Washington are engaged. Watergate was a sacrifice play. Without its resolution, all these other things might have gone with it. The public might soon have demanded an end to lawyers' improper relationships with regulatory agencies, congressmembers on the take, corporate subsidies, police agencies engaging in illegal spying and assassinations and newspapers generally looking the other way as much as they dare. In short, the Watergate investigation was necessary to normalize corruption again.

Q: Well, if the two party system, the League of Women Voters and the press are all part of a corrupt system, then what is left?

EMANON: You and me. And I'm not sure about us. The thing that saves us for the moment is that we have limited power. Were we to become cabinet officers or network news commentators we would have to be corrupted to the point that the corrupt in charge of making such decisions would feel safe in hiring us. As it is, we find ourselves uncorrupted and powerless. It is the delicious conundrum that makes corruption so fascinating. Reinhold Niebuhr once said, "Goodness, armed with power, is corrupted; and pure love without power is destroyed." The choice is ours, my friend. Either we get power or we get destroyed.

Q: Look. We're both in good jobs and we both consider ourselves uncorrupted. Maybe we're fooling ourselves.

EMANON: Oh yes, I have no doubt that we have the normal corruptions of mortals. But that's a base line for all but saints. What changes us as we become more corrupt is not our basic character so much as our power and our ability to hurt others by our corruption.

Q: It sounds like you're just repeating Lord Acton's cliché in a more tedious manner.

EMANON: Cliches are not necessarily false. Further, despite the repetition of Lord Acton's warning, little attention is paid to the obvious conclusion one may draw from it: if you want to avoid corruption, avoid power.

Q: Somebody's got to have power.

EMANON: Or lots of bodies. You can obtain the same output of light from one bulb or from dozens of smaller ones. And when you rely upon concentrated sources of power you run into problems. For example, the closer you get to the source the more dangerous it is. The heat becomes excessive or, in the case of nuclear plant, you must carefully shield it because its power is simply too great and, most frighteningly, continues far beyond its useful life.

Q: That's a nice philosophical concept but it suggests that city governments should be less corrupt than national ones. Judging from recent stories about this town that is not necessarily the case.

EMANON: Well, certainly the damage done by them is less. Besides, we tend to make more of corruption closer to home than we do of similar activities on a national scale or of institutional corruption that doesn't have a face attached to it. I've been reading about some of the indiscretions at your city hall and I must say that a professional corruptologist would not pay them much heed. Your mayor seems to fall rather short of a venal personality who demands early recall — on that account at least. And the personal misdeeds of his aides is paltry stuff, indeed. I suspect there is more to all of this than meets the eye.

Q: You don't subscribe to the idea that it represents a racist attack by the

white press on a black city government, do you?

EMANON: Not in the sense that is being suggested. Once again we must look to the real sources of corruption, which may be legal and even hallowed institutions. You have several fellows who seem to have been feathering their nests. Bad form and certainly they should be called to account. But why have the papers suddenly become so interested? Surely there have been similar misdemeanors throughout the life of this administration.

I would suggest that one hypothesis is that the reporters, who perhaps two years ago could have written such stories and found them overset or stuck in the back pages, have now been unleashed. The reporters are not conducting a vendetta; they are simply being allowed to do their job for a change. A decision has been made not to get the mayor, but to no longer protect him. In most city governments that amounts to the same thing.

Now why has this choice been made? As a second hypothesis I would suggest that the mayor is no longer considered effective and able to carry out the wishes of those groups that can legally but excessively influence local government. Now it so happens that these groups contain within them many of the major advertisers of your two papers as well as the papers themselves. Thus what you may be seeing is a vote of no confidence in the mayor by the power elite that is ostensibly on the issue of personal and intermural corruption when the real issue has to do with external and institutional corruption: the failure of the mayor to accomplish the tasks those who are running the city for their own benefit have set out for him. It is not merely coincidental that if the mayor were driven from office he would be replaced by someone considered more trustworthy by the power elite. Obviously, it has nothing to lose by putting the mayor's back against the wall.

On the other hand, let us suppose that someone like your rambunctious councilmember, the Reverend Douglas Moore, whose escapades have been reported as far west as Pittsburgh, were the chairman of the city council. Do you think the press would be so anxious to embarrass the mayor? Most unlikely, for the consequences would be far more distasteful than a bit of corruption. So the press would continue to protect the mayor.

On top of this you must add one other important factor. The most certain enemy of corruption is a newspaper circulation war. A declining circulation or a deficit in the annual report can turn any publisher into a muckraker. I would never want to run for office in a two-paper town.

Q: What does one who is opposed to both the power elite and the misbehavior of public officials do?

EMANON: The response of the power structure to the charges against your city hall is a fine example of the selective ethics of the powerful. I suppose that if the power brokers choose situational ethics as their weapon, you must respond in kind. I would think the best course is to let the mayor muddle through, putting just enough pressure on to achieve some reforms without exerting so much that he is totally discredited and moved out to make way for someone who might be far worse in terms of his willingness to follow the dictates of your city's oligarchy. The choice before you is not an uncommon one: whether you wish your misgovernment carried out with good hearted incompetence or cunning efficiency. I generally prefer the former.

Q: For a professor of moral philosophy, you seem to take quite a relaxed attitude towards corruption.

EMANON: Not really. I am merely more sympathetic towards politicians who are corrupted than those who corrupt them, either legally or illegally and more tolerant of nepotism than of multi-million dollar land deals sponsored by the city. Remember that most corruption in this country is legal: our campaign contribu-

tion system, special commissions dedicated to keeping things the way they are, consultant reports that start with the conclusion and work backwards, special interest groups that can afford a lobbyist when ordinary citizens can't, the institutional arrangements of zoning and city planning, the granting of licenses and permits. All are designed to favor the powerful over the less so and thus tend to corrupt. The politician is merely the conduit through which all this action flows. Those outside of government are making the real profits. The politician only gets a commission.

Usually, we tend to tolerate corrupters more than corruptees. The corruptee gets fired or goes to jail, but the corrupters are exonerated or slip away in the night to corrupt again.

Q: So what can be done?

EMANON: As a start we could recognize that personal corruption and the quality of government are somewhat independent variables. You have to have an awful lot of relatives on the payroll to equal one average-sized example of budgetary stupidity. Admittedly there are not many good corrupt governments around, but there are not many good clean ones, either.

Secondly, we should remember that most corrupting influences are sanctioned by law. To rid ourselves of illegal corruption still leaves us in a mess. The country, by law, is designed to favor the powerful over those less so.

Thirdly, examine the uses made of charges of corruption. Real corruption often flies on the wing of reform.

Fourthly, favor corruption that is well distributed, that gets down to the street, over that which is concentrated and favors only a few. If you really want to clean up a government, examine zoning changes rather than the fixing of parking tickets.

Fifthly, mitigating corruption through the redistribution of power is more effective than the legislation of morality. If politicians abuse their power, take some of it away. Spread it around. In the process you might not only "reform" government but improve it as well.

Finally, if you must make laws, regulate the corrupters rather than the corruptees.

Q: It doesn't sound like we'll be getting rid of corruption in government very soon.

EMANON: Rome wasn't reformed in a day.

## DC GAZETTE

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THE DC GAZETTE is published monthly except during the summer. Our deadline is the second Tuesday of the month except for ads which should be submitted by the third Tuesday. The Gazette welcomes short articles but cannot afford to pay for them at this time. The Gazette is a member of the Alternative Press Syndicate and uses the services of Liberation News Service, Zodiac News Service, Pacific News Service, College Press Service and Community Press Features. The Gazette is available by mail for \$6 a year. Single copies are 40¢ if mailed and 25¢ at selected newsstands.

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# flotsam & jetsam

I got too busy this month to write a column so I called up my old friend P.G. Emanon, John Mitchell Professor of Moral Philosophy at East Pittsburgh State University, to transcribe a few of his thoughts on the corruption problem. Professor Emanon, who has just completed a seminal work on corruption, "Bagmen of the Lesser Nagas," obliged me as follows — S.S.

QUESTION: What is corruption?

EMANON: It depends on where you are. For example, what we call nepotism has other names elsewhere.

Q: Like what?

EMANON: Well, in England it's known as the monarchy. They venerate nepotism so much they've turned over the whole upper house of their legislature to it. Or take another case. Back a few centuries, the church ran a little protection racket called "indulgences." You may recall that Martin Luther took exception to it.

Q: Are you suggesting there is nothing wrong with nepotism or payoffs?

EMANON: It's more complicated than that. We live in a society that calls itself a democracy, thus we can't publicly condone nepotism, favoritism or bribery. That doesn't mean that we eradicate them or, outside of our rhetoric, decline to tolerate them.

Q: Which, I take it, you believe to be the case.

EMANON: Absolutely. We modify the concepts somewhat to make them more at ease with the democratic myth but they are very much with us. For example, we don't have much in the way of traditional nepotism, perhaps because the family has become so unimportant in American life, but we treat our family substitutes — the college we went to, the corporation we work for, or organizational ties — in much the same way. In fact, we only draw the line at blood or sexual relationships, which is ironic because there is often more conflict between brothers or lovers than between fellow members of a board of directors. If you look at Jimmy Carter's cabinet, you'll find it in some ways as inbred as one related by genetics. It would be interesting to study the comparative similarities of say, Cyrus Vance and my colleague Professor Brzezinski and those of Jimmy and Billy Carter.

In the matter of money we have merely shifted from under-the-table payments (although they continue in some quarters) to something we call campaign contributions. They are almost as effective. You might almost say that since the larger campaign contributors have purchased the services of the politicians legally, the politicians have more obligation to provide those services. If we really wanted to eliminate the influence of money as a political weapon, we would restrict all campaign contributions to something like \$10 or \$25.

Q: But what about Eugene McCarthy's argument that this hurts third force candidates? And what about federal funding of election campaigns?

EMANON: Federal funding of presidential campaigns is a pseudo reform. It's a strategic retreat. What you do is put the lid on one type of evil — excessive contributions to presidential candidates — in order to let all the others, such as the duopoly of the Democratic and Repub-

lican parties, the excessive contributions to congressional and other candidates and television campaign huckstering, to continue.

The favored status of our two corrupt and mindless major parties is one of the most corrupt parts of our system, but we're not about to touch that. McCarthy found that out. Now, admittedly, McCarthy had a point. New ideas often need a fairy godparent. But what if we limited all private funding of campaigns to a miniscule amount per contributor and all public funding to uses that served the public: such as the purchase of television time for debates between all the candidates and the purchase of newspaper space in which candidates could express their ideas in no more than twelve point type. No public funds for bumper stickers, advance men, booze, tv commercials. Revolutionary, yes, but a fair, enlightening and proper expenditure of public funds.

Q: Did you watch the presidential debates?

EMANON: You mean the joint Carter-Ford press conferences? Yes. Some of corruption's finest hours. The press let itself get corrupted into permitting someone else decide who would interview the candidates. The League of Women Voters corrupted itself by permitting only two of the presidential candidates to appear and the public was corrupted into thinking it was seeing a real debate between the choices available to it.

Q: Now, really — how could the League of Women Voters be corrupted?

EMANON: By its infinite faith in its own incorruptibility. In fact, the League is not a nonpartisan organization but a raving partisan of the extremist middle, the most powerful and dangerous force in America today. There are no restrictions upon it. It corrupts every aspect of our life.

Q: Would you include Common Cause in the extremist middle?

EMANON: Oh, yes. John Gardner is perhaps the chief guerilla of the status quo, the Ho Chi Minh of business as usual. What you have to understand is that every act of tasteless personal corruption, the sort you read about in your morning paper, is a threat to the status quo. The elite fully understands that their position is threatened by anyone in power who brings power into disrepute. The reality of power rests on the illusion of incorruptibility. Common Cause's idea of reform is basically to return credibility to the power centers.

But such groups, however, would not be nearly so important were it not for the worst extremist middlelists of the lot: the press. The press not only manufactures the myth that those in the middle are rational, reasonable and nonpartisan but is itself a major beneficiary of this myth. By limiting access to its space and time to fellow members of the extremist middle, it perpetuates the image of a country in which only kooks, terrorists and gadflies occupy the space to the right or left of dead center.

Morton Mintz recently wrote about the need for comparative journalism, that is, journalism that compares what we are doing with what is being done elsewhere. I suspect the reason there is so little of this type of reportage is that it would reveal how badly the radicals of the center are doing. We would learn that we have become one of the most reactionary countries in the world. And not just on issues such as use of force. Consider how little we know about other countries' approaches to health and housing. Or their approach to democracy. There is much we could learn, but we are afraid to. We'd rather continue secure in the idea that all Swedes commit suicide.

Q: Why does the press like the middle so much?

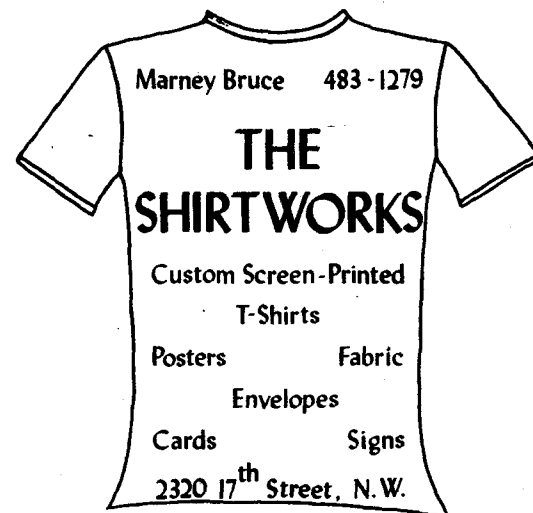
EMANON: The press has become not just big business, but enormous business. The Washington Post, for example, makes the Fortune list of top corporations of the country. More and more dailies are being swallowed up by national chains. The press acts, thinks and talks like big business. Consider the recent matter of New York Magazine and the Village Voice. The Voice was the grandparent of the alternative press. Now it's easy to understand a buccaneer-type like Rupert Murdoch wishing to seize it, but far more interesting was Katharine Graham's attempt.

From a journalistic point of view, it is inconceivable that the same person should run one of the two leading establishment dailies, one of the two leading establishment weeklies and one of the leading alternative newspapers at the same time. But if you're not really interested in journalism, but in business, it doesn't matter. Then you can have it both ways. The American business ethic, after all, has shifted from competition to collaboration and, when that doesn't work, to acquisition. Unfortunately, the poor staff at New York magazine didn't understand that. They walked out, complaining of being treated like "furniture" that could be sold with the other assets of the publication. Well, the truth is that, by contemporary standards, reporters and writers are furniture.

Q: But don't institutions like Common Cause keep the lid on corruption?

EMANON: There is some selective enforcement. The example everyone likes to throw out is Watergate. But as we have found out since Watergate, it was just an extreme manifestation of some widely accepted values in Washington. Some of the politicians who talked about the evils of Watergate were on the take from South Korea. Nixon went too far. He wasn't cool: he threatened to blow up not only his own

(Please turn to page 18)



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